Portable Museums: Imaging and Staging the "Northern Gothic Art Tour": Ephemera and Alterity

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Abstract:

During the early nineteenth century, the *voyage* to the past was to become a central destination for the discerning modern art tourist as for artists and writers. Yet such voyages, and the insights they stimulated, were as much ephemeral as actual, creations—and virtual staging—of burgeoning antiquities "tour" phenomena in print, page and image. This article is concerned with the pivotal, yet neglected significance of Northern European Gothic "tour" literatures. It explores their itineraries and image-worlds, and further, their significance as inspirations for potent art revivals and "rediscoveries" implicated in projecting amplified types of past experiences for the nineteenth-century art tourist. Two areas of interest are particularly salient. First, in the contexts of an emerging Northern art tour literature phenomena flourishing between Britain and the Low Countries from the 1830s, is to illuminate new ways in which the art and cultural patrimony of Northern Europe's pre- and early-modern past is narrated, imaged and recreated as both near and distant; as "exotic" yet tangible. Second, to consider the development of these responses and encounters as ephemeral experiences in which such 'tour' spectacles unfold as virtualized museums—notably as demonstrated by key yet neglected instances of the phenomenon of the Northern European art tour from the 1830s to the 1860s. As this article suggests, their potent entwining with the period's heightened fascination with Northern medieval Gothic architecture, art and spaces of unseen heritage were to construct via the inherent ephemerality of tour experiences, complex palimpsests of past and present to project uncanny cultural "exhibitions" of memory, modernity and its other.

Travelling and Staging "North": Romantic tours and exotic Gothics

The "Gothic North" was the paradoxical creation, the virtual spectacle and destination of post-Napoleonic upheavals. Along with "Waterloo tourism" and princely plunder, early nineteenth-century art travellers, especially to the Southern Netherlands and German lands, doubtless experienced frissons on a par with eighteenth-century Grand Tourists to the Roman *Campagna* and post-Vesuvius Pompeii, exposed to a cultural displacement of vertiginous proportions.[1] In this panorama of spoliation, as Francis Haskell observes, travellers could hunt trophies from looted monuments, light upon art treasures piled high in transient spaces, visit backstreet antiquaries and auction-houses, witness the churches and aristocratic treasure-houses of continental Europe thrown

open to the highest bidder.[2] Ephemeral and precarious, in particular, the spoils of a Northern Gothic and Renaissance heritage were everywhere on display as war trophies: pre-1815, as educational showpieces in Dominique-Vivant Denon's Musée Napoléon.[3] But post-Waterloo, they were increasingly of fascination as "destinations" for collectors, writers and artists**.**[4] Indeed, Friedrich von Schlegel writing during the high-watermark of Napoleonic displacements in his *Letters on Christian Art* (1802-4), was amongst the first of his generation to perceive in the scattered art of Northern Europe's medieval Gothic past especially from the German Lands, "peculiar beauties" and "the hidden charms of soul and expression."[5] Associated with an awakening to an art which Schlegel avers, arises "from what is near and peculiar to us," its character, he contends, will be "infallibly local and national."[6] But while Schlegel's perceptions would spark a developed Romantic taste for revivals of Northern European medieval and Renaissance cultures, as evoked in Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Wackenroder's landmark *Herzensergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (1797), and later, Karl Schnaase's *Niederländische Briefe* (1834)—of interest for this article is that such appetites were rich stimuli not only for expanded literary or historiographical insights, but for new kinds of cultural, artistic and emotional encounters burgeoning in the wake of Napoleonic conflict. To Haskell's contention then that a manifest collecting interest, including in the heritage of Northern Europe's scattered medieval and Renaissance past entwined with its nineteenth-century ephemeral "reinvention" via the Old Master exhibition, we should add the more neglected phenomenon of the "tour"—cultural, spatial and virtual as its amplification.[7] This is strikingly apparent in a post-Waterloo attraction from the late 1820s to a new engagement with the medieval architectural and artistic heritage of the Low Countries, Rhine- and German lands. Entwined with the appeal of a cultural past perceived as "purer," more mystical and geo-culturally particular than the legacies of classical Greek and Roman Antiquity, equally such interests were motivated by expanding ideas of nation via rediscovering a Gothic artistic patrimony of a shared, yet "other" memory-construction and modernity in which the virtualized allure of the Northern Gothic past would be determinant.

The seeds of these interests are demonstrable in writings of early Romantic travellers—notably, by the German Nazarene artist, Johann David Passavant and the prodigious British art traveller and Germanophile, Maria Graham (Lady) Callcott (Fig. 1). Both ardent readers of Friedrich Schlegel, Goethe, Tieck and Wackenroder, they became close friends. By the early 1830s, Callcott was also pivotal to the formation of a developed British-German circle of connoisseurs and intellectual networks, key amongst them Charles Eastlake, first Director of the National Gallery.[8] Salient for this article are ways in which both Callcott's and Passavant's travels were motivated as much by the need to give visibility to and create a Northern past in object, word and image, transposing its fragmented cultural patrimony to mediate new nineteenth-century imaginaries, as to record and acquire it. Indeed, arguably the central insight of these romantic "rediscoveries" is the new emphasis that both writers, following Friedrich Schlegel's inspiration, accord to Northern medieval Gothic art as possessing attributes of distinctiveness and particularity. For each, this presage amplified

ideals of nation-building, a growing appreciation of cultural diversity in shaping a new art history for the age and with it, developed responses to and connections with a scarcely known medieval and early-modern past.

Callcott's artistic tour of the German lands and Italy detailed in her 1827-8 *Journal* undertaken as a wedding voyage with her second husband Augustus Callcott, is a demonstrable, yet still under-explored case in point. Anticipating a pattern in Passavant's English and Belgian *Kunstreise*, Callcott follows a journey of "metempsychosis"—a new concept at this period—in two parts.[9] But it is her travels in the German lands that would prove ground-breaking. Tracing first, Schlegel's Rhine-lands journeys—from Cologne to Augsburg, then from Munich north-east, to Nuremberg and Dresden—Callcott charts her unfolding, deepening interest in Gothic medieval and Northern Renaissance art. Indeed, her responses, to date neglected by scholars, are pioneering in perceptions arguably unique for Callcott's period with far-reaching consequences for contemporary German taste-makers.[10] Foremost amongst them were a group of adventurous women connoisseurs, notably Anna Jameson and Elizabeth Eastlake (née Rigby).[11] As Susanna Avery-Quash points out, it was above all this circle who would play a significant role, building on Callcott's, in developing and broadening nineteenth-century audiences for German art.[12] The Callcotts extended stays in Munich (1827) were critical in this respect. It was here, and in Cologne, that they acquired developed first-hand knowledge of the art of the early Netherlandish and German so-called "Primitive" artists via such influential contacts in the period's continental European art world as Georg von Dillis, Royal art advisor to Ludwig I of Bavaria, through visits to the magnificent private art collections of Sulpiz and Melchior Boisserée in Munich and at Schleissheim, and as witness to von Dillis's acquisition of the Boisserée collections in 1827 at a pivotal moment of European history-making.[13] That is: the institutionalizing and public display of pre- and early-modern art from the German lands.

During her travels, and exposed to the monumental spectacle of what she records as "the beautiful unfinished [Cologne] Cathedral," Callcott had further, unparalleled opportunities to engage with its history, descriptions and panoramic print imagery.[14] In particular, via the Boisserées' near exhaustive studies (recently completed), it was presented to the early nineteenth-century gaze as a suggestively unfolding, yet ever-present virtualized Gothic (1821-24: Fig. 2).[15] And it was arguably via this deeper encounter with the Boisserées' amplified projection of Cologne Cathedral, building on Goethe's writings as a potently suggestive *lieu de mémoire*—a crossroads of Northern and Mediterranean art and cultural heritance—which was doubtless of deep significance for Callcott.[16] Prescient, is her ability to perceive the synthetic "decorative principle" of early German architecture and art (on her visit in late July to the Dresden Gallery), for all the melancholy neglect she observes at Cologne, and link this with what Goethe called the *Gestalt* character of Gothic architecture.[17] That is, its complex totality as a body of art with its own internal life as variety in "unity"; unity within variety.[18] Yet echoing Goethe in her response to Gothic as a distinctly northern "inheritance," Callcott also perceives this afresh through the immediacy of her on-site observations which capture and distil

new possibilities offered by the ephemeral, multiple optic of travel on a fragmented and conflicted past. She records for example that, "the view from the river is very fine and gives a high idea of what might have been [..]"; inside, highlighting the salient detail, the Choir, "that part which is finished, is magnificent" in contrast to "the wretched state of the rest."[19] However short-hand, this palimpsest of many "viewpoints" is arguably the very stimulus—composing the view from the "notebook"—that enables Callcott to perceive in Cologne Cathedral its potency as both monument and unfolding image, identifying even in the interior's ruinous aspects, a decorative system at work as the hidden source of its aesthetic unity. Even so, this perception is mediated through a series of tantalizing sensory and virtual projections of what it still might be, evoking a theme to which Callcott returns repeatedly: that the "decorative principle" of early-German art is a more than a traveller's curiosity. Rather, it is a sensory and cultural touchstone, the embodied trace as a stimulus for both intellectual and imaginative expansion.[20]

Indeed, this creation of a multiple optic through the mobile gaze is a signal innovation of Callcott's *Journal*, highlighted in her travels in the Rhine-lands, at Coblentz, Augsburg, Frankfurt, and even more markedly in her encounters with the array of early-Netherlandish and German masters in the Boisserées' private galleries at Schleissheim. Here, the Callcotts' first visit is striking for the economy of narration which records the Schleissheim gallery's sheer scale (Callcott notes: "in 37 rooms are 2024 numbered pictures, besides others not noticed [sic]"), while deft in showing this merely as a first sweep that anticipates the expanded "view." [21] Furthermore: Callcott's perceptions are prescient in their adventurous temporal as well as aesthetic and cultural breadth in ways that make her account more than travel notations of picturesque places encountered, things seen or frissons stimulated by "romantic" ruins. And as salient is that while her *Journal* is thus not presented as a "guide-book" in any touristic sense, a central theme is its attentive sensitivity to suggesting the potency and emotive power of an incomplete past. A notable insight, building on her observations of Cologne Cathedral, is Callcott's recognition of the unity between Gothic architecture and the pictorial art it contained, combining didactic messages with effects of decorative richness: as technically exquisite yet suggestively potent. In the recently-founded Frankfurt Städel institute, for example, she concentrates not on questions of attribution or style but highlights that, "the [visual] *effect* of the [early] German pictures with their gold grounds, brocaded stuffs and brilliant colour is gorgeous in the extreme" [author's emphasis].[22] She develops this theme in Augsburg, drawing out suggestive resonances with Augsburg's pivotal history as an "empire" of integrated craft as well as of images.[23] Viewed thus through its deeper architectural and decorative relationships, she attributes to Holbein the Elder's work a larger significance perceiving that it "accords particularly well with the Gothic architecture and should be considered as not so much an art in itself as part of the whole system of decoration which belonged to the buildings of that style."[24]

On the several visits to Schleissheim, and during the Callcotts' extended sojourn in Munich in late July and August 1827, the *Journal* becomes even more expansive in its development of these

themes. Yet the treatment is also synthetic and selective, recomposing and unifying the scope and scale of the Boisserée collections as if a virtual, unfolding gallery of masterpieces for the beholder and traveller. Here the approach suggestively mirrors Callcott's mobile viewing experiments in her 1824 travels in South America with the "peepshow" (Fig. 3): a folding paper cut-out modelling a panorama of the Chilean landscape as if could be held in the palm of the hand.[25] In 1827 at Schleissheim, Callcott develops this potential of the staged view. As well as their magnificent centre-piece: Rogier van der Weyden's *St Columba altarpiece* (c. 1455 at this period incorrectly attributed by the Boisserées to the Van Eyck Brothers: now Altepinakothek, Munich: Fig. 4), Callcott creates "spotlights," emphasizing the Boisserées' group of exquisite "Cologne School" works including Wilhelm "Meister" of Cologne, Stefan Lochner's *Madonna of the Rosebank* and the *St Bartholemew Altarpiece* by the Master thereof. Included in this group is Hans Memling [Hemling], described as a "delightful painter" and Dieric Bouts, highlighted as a "painter of powerful landscapes."[26] And key to this idea, is Callcott's oscillation between notation, observation and a more emotive register, saving the detailed inventorying work for another account.[27] What this conveys is a thrilling new type of experience—as she observes, the sense that it [the collection *and* gallery] "occasioned great marvel…." Even so, this suggestively Romantic presentation of the connoisseur as explorer and curator, as composer of her own ephemeral collection, combines too with her ability for incisive perceptions. Of the observation that Memling's life appears "romantic," Callcott briskly demolishes would-be rivals in the tart dismissal of Johanna Schopenhauer's (that other "lady traveller") "inventions."[28] Elsewhere demonstrable is her formidable ability to project long historical insights, as in Dürer's case who, in contrast with the period's prevailing view, is ranked by Callcott as "inferior to those of the low German School." Yet as she counters: "following the wreck of art in Italy and Greece [he is] then the most polished [artist] in Northern Europe."[29] Indeed, Callcott here uses prolonged first-hand encounter, building scrupulously detailed on-site descriptions interspersing technical and colour notations, to verbalize, distil and virtually project the Boisserée collection as if the *Journal* has become the medium of its both its experience ("exhibition") and panoramic recreation.

In these ways, Callcott's *Journal* serves as a "portmanteau" to distil the immediacy of her perceptions, interweaving a vivid sense of her encounters with pungent historical reflection. Her eye for local particularities: *tables d'hôtes*, agreeable Rhine waters, women's costumes, mixes glimpses of a gothic finial, spires, tracery and unusual head-wear, many captured in tiny abbreviated vignettes (Fig. 5).[30] Intertwined with a flowing rapid hand, it is as if the body were in the voice, the very jolt of the diligence felt in the pen.[31] Yet such effects of local colour are imaginatively re-presented to make present a conjoining of distant time, place and image, seizing the possibilities of the travelling viewpoint to extract from details, unities of art and the Gothic architecture to which these relate. Although ravaged by Napoleonic conflict, plunder and neglect, Callcott's descriptions of these sites show and narrate. But they also order, recompose and synthesize the potency of a Northern past mostly neglected, unseen or dismissed as "primitive" by her contemporaries. For in highlighting

combinations of “peculiar richness of colour” and clarity of expression that heightens story-telling potential Callcott adduces to works by Stephan Lochner and van der Weyden (aspects she sees reflected, but more unevenly in the so-called “revivalist” art of the Nazarenes, notably the work of Karl Christian Vogel), Callcott’s *Journal* also presents these seemingly fragmentary “archaisms” in a fresh light. But above all, it is through the expanded “tour” and its potency for new sensations and image-making linked to *reflection*—what Le Goff sees as “the seductiveness of memory,” that Callcott projects a larger, many-dimensional past and its suggestive implications for a Flemish-German spirit of renewal conceived as “modern.”[32]

Echoing these perceptions, Johann-David Passavant’s 1836 *Tour of a German Artist in England and Belgium* (*Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*: Fig. 6) follows a reverse journey via a similar use of the tour optic. Combining the view of the connoisseur enlivened by personal souvenir, Passavant’s detailed on-site descriptions of art works recounted on visits to notable country seats, public and private London collections narrate yet recompose his tour into multiple “viewpoints” for the virtual traveller. Written ostensibly to prepare a study on Raphael’s art, Passavant presents a comprehensive “survey.” But whilst a far less detailed work of observation and aesthetic commentary than Callcott’s *Journal*, Passavant, however, adds to Callcott’s perceptions in two respects important for this discussion. First, is his account of the Liverpool lawyer, abolitionist and polymath, the “celebrated” William Roscoe’s collection in Liverpool.[33] Second is his detailing of his visit to the London-based German Merchant Carl Aders’s art and print collection.[34] In both instances, Passavant is struck by the rich examples of Flemish-German so-called “primitive” art (even if of uncertain attribution); in both, as with Callcott’s perceptions in Cologne and Augsburg, even if details of place are scant, there is a sense of artistic possibilities just coming into view. In Roscoe’s case (whom he visited in 1831), this taste he adduces to Roscoe’s “unceasing cultivation of art, science and literature” and prodigious industry, particularly evident in Roscoe’s vigour in founding the Liverpool Institution—attributes which Passavant suggestively associates with Roscoe’s Liverpool roots as a great and adventurous northern capital of industry and trade.[35]

Albeit displayed to “educate,” it is in this spirit of adventure and an emerging optic that Passavant characterizes Roscoe’s collection of Netherlandish and German so-called “primitives,” drawing out their potential as both “specimens” yet “deep and serious” and poetical.[36] And as striking, are Passavant’s experiences of Aders’s collection which he elaborates, indeed, as experiences. There Passavant was able to view several rarities: in his view a “superior” 1819 copy of the Van Eycks’ great Ghent Altarpiece that had suffered enormously from Napoleonic pillage; a very rare “Virgin and Child” by Jan van Eyck (incorrectly attributed by Passavant to Margaretha van Eyck) and a painting by the Colmar master, Martin Schongauer (a wing picture of “Pilate Showing Christ before the People:” Fig 7). And it is his comments on these two examples that are arguably most potent and prescient; again, as does Callcott, using the touring viewpoint to create “spotlights.” The (Jan) van Eyck “Virgin” is described as “very delicate and poetical” of peculiar composition; its various

countenances “more singular than beautiful”; the Schongauer as “full of speaking heads,” as spirited, with a harmony of colour seen as “peculiar to Flemish painting.”[37] Passavant’s response to early Netherlandish and German art here suggests a breadth and curiosity beyond a single artist(s) taste (the Van Eycks) and amplified “cataloguing.” Rather, it points to an enlarged perception of a Flemish-Germanic spirit and suggestive cultural awakening—stressed in the repeated intensifiers—“singular,” “poetic,” “peculiar,” “spirited” —linked to a new visibility of British-Low-Countries-German art interests. But it is via the “tour” that the suggestive outline of this imaginary is presented as an alternative space of potential nation-building and cosmopolitan encounter.

Indeed, albeit romanticizing and limited to an élite circle of taste-makers, Callcott’s and Passavant’s tours emerge as seminal in this production of a past-ness, pivoting on potently transforming perceptions of Northern medieval, specifically Gothic architecture and art as an expression of new national particularity and cosmopolitan connection. But more than this: they distil a specific connection between an emerging history and memory of this artistic inheritance and potential via enlarging the personal viewpoint, to multiply images of this past. And this accelerates in the context a newly-independent Belgium from 1830, sparking a flourishing Northern art tour literature between Britain and the Low Countries. Anticipated by romantic tours, by the mid-1830s this momentum had greatly developed in scope, reach and emerging markets highlighted by Passavant’s near British contemporary, John Hoppus’s 1836 *The Continent in 1835—Sketches in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Savoy and France*.[38]

In key ways Hoppus’s Northern and Rhine-lands “tour,” wholly overlooked by scholars, is a trailblazer of its time. Travelling by steam-boat (to Ostend) and canal to join the first newly-opened European mainland rail route at Brussels, Hoppus’s tour exemplifies an expanding geo-cultural optic on “discovering” Northern European architectural and artistic treasures framed by the Gothic cities of Bruges, Ghent and Cologne. It is in this respect both “romantic” and “modern,” revelling in the thrill of water voyages powered by steam and imposing canal ships; both history-making and about the future. But it also has further significance for this argument, highlighting what David Lee calls in another context, the persistent “bichromatism” of the period, oscillating between increasing positivist confidence in progress yet flight from its certainties.[39] For while on one hand, Hoppus—a philosopher and evangelical Protestant reformer—conceives his tour for rational and reformist purposes, in short, in the spirit of Protestant education for the nation; on the other, his travels are also about encounters with spaces and experiences evoking the darkly exotic. So a journey that starts with the express aim, as he avers, to expose continental Europe’s backward corners steeped in Catholic despotism and “Romish superstition [sic],” is shadowed, notably in Hoppus’s sojourns in Bruges and Ghent, by his pervasive attraction to their picturesque, more ambiguous aesthetic charms.[40]

The text is unillustrated. Yet the use of the epistolary form and literary “sketch” drawing on a nexus of romantic art tropes, creates an intimacy of visual mood and place replete with melancholy and suggestively-layered architectural and interior-view images, as conjured, for example, in

Hoppus's experiences in Bruges. On first sight it seems thriving—to Hoppus's eyes "very fine […] with a considerable appearance of business."[41] Yet his encounter with Bruges's principal monuments evoke in him quite different sentiments, as the Belfry with its "brilliant *carillon*, continually telling of the lapse of time [which] unite with the antiquated and sombre grandeur of many of the buildings."[42] Or viewing the works by Hans Memling in the St John's Hospital, its "Romish dominion," Hoppus opines, propelling him back "into the midnight depths of superstition" even though we hear little about the Memlings.[43] Rather, what fascinates Hoppus is experiencing the Hospital, its cavernous interior and inhabitants, as a series of unfolding images and moods. Still at this period until 1839, a functioning hospital and convent (Fig. 9), Hoppus's treatment, however, prolongs a sense of its fanciful melancholy and *chiaroscuro*—of a place lost in time's recesses, as in viewing the Hospital's "gloomy chapel" filled with chanting "inmates" and the dolorous shapes of receding nuns. Similarly, in Ghent, Hoppus is drawn to "the peculiar solemnity and grandeur" of Ghent's skyline, to the splendour of its monuments; its canals, where, for Hoppus, "the Burgundian and Spanish dynasties (their "cruelties") seemed present to the imagination"—and all abounding, he observes, as with Bruges, 'in images and memorials of decayed grandeur."[44] In these ways, Hoppus's oscillation between itinerary, observation and evocation builds a Romantic imagery of virtual past-ness via tropes of sketch and vignette, turning what is merely ephemeral into a suggestively heightened emotive lexicon and sensory register of Gothic monuments and sites, and above all, their experience.

Ephemera and Alterity: Northern Gothics—Bruges and its Uncanny Reverberations

Turning to my second theme: Hoppus's trajectory would be pivotal for more developed "tour" experiences, notably those offered by W.H. James Weale (Fig. 10) in his compendious 1859 guidebook, *Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne*, critically involved with his focus on artistic site as well as his 1860s Bruges School art revivals.[45] Weale's animating passion was Gothic, particularly Flemish revivals. His activities as an historian and restorer of Northern Gothic monuments and art were prodigious.[46] He was also a Catholic – a factor which drew him to Belgium in particular to Bruges where he settled in 1855 in Bruges's growing "English colony."[47] There, he became reputed as a "Flemish" Ruskin, pioneering if also contentious for his contemporaries.[48] Of interest here, is Weale's more neglected *Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne,* where exploiting the now extensive railway network from London across Belgium to Cologne, he builds on the image of Bruges, Belgium and the Rhine-lands depicted by such earlier travellers as Callcott, Passavant and Hoppus. But he does so in far more compendious terms, even boasting of his "authoritative" itineraries as far surpassing his predecessors and better than his rival Bradshaw's.[49] Weale's "Preface" is instructive in this respect:

> The writer, while travelling in Belgium during the past year, experienced the want of a tolerably correct Guide book to the treasures of art preserved in the Churches, Museums and other institutions of that country [...] The idea then suggested itself to the writer to publish a

> volume […] to contain such information as should enable students in the various branches of archaeology, architecture and painting to make the best use of their time.[50]

The tone, if bland, betrays Weale's deeper sense of mission. In 1861, as "Member Correspondent" addressing the Belgian Royal Commission on Public Restoration, he would defend "vraie restauration" against what he denounced as the "vandalism" carried out in the name of rescuing medieval architectural and artistic patrimony.[51] This, Weale perceives to be threatened as much by modern "restorations" and their "whitewashing" as by Napoleonic ruination—and of which he cited Bruges's and Leuven's *Hôtels de Villes* as among the most shocking examples.[52] In both, as he lamented, even the Gothic flamboyant decorative façade sculptures were now Greco-Roman.[53] And it is giving visibility to a distinctive yet connected vision, especially of Belgium's vanishing medieval patrimony (by implication absent from Bradshaw, despite its copious notes and thumb-nail "views"), that provides the animating impetus of Weale's "Guidebook," underpinning its claim to be both "authoritative" and modern.

Indeed, its novelty and originality lies in Weale's emphasis on "systematic" arrangements of his tour itineraries by principal monuments, classification by type,—employing a new, uniform short-hand (capitals, italics and small type), with capital-letter identifiers for principal sights, main routes and residences of Sacristans, incorporating plans and maps, and extensive biographies of architects and artists.[54] But key, is the use of the new rail routes to create a portable map and joined-up experience of virtual "networked travel." The compact hard-back volume measuring 17 cm (width) by 11.2 cm (length) and 4 cm (thick) (priced at five shillings) which as Weale emphasizes could be tucked into an overcoat pocket, was published with a fold-out map showing the entire route network across Belgium to the Rhine (Fig. 11).[55] For the first time, it was possible to grasp a synthetic cultural "view" —far beyond the Romantic art traveller's scope—framing a connected patrimony and expansive routes to the past for the discerning art tourist. Weale's introductory sections build on this innovation, in Section I, detailing itineraries, customs and *moeurs*; in Section II, providing an overview of Belgium's history, geography and climate; Section III dealing respectively with Fine and Decorative Arts, of which the longest piece is on Architecture, but with significant sections on "Metalwork," "Painted Glass," "Embroideries/Tapestries" and "Chimes." In these ways, although not illustrated, Weale turns absence of illustrations to new purposes. Dispensing with the ready-made touristic image (as used by Bradshaw), places heightened emphasis for the imaginative traveller on the appeal of the "route" in offering manifold potential images and expanded virtual encounters.

The itineraries similarly are marked by this focus on the systematic and sensitively palimpsestic, recreating the outlines of vanishing pasts as at Furnes and Nieuwport (Route 10), or the still-visible, if melancholy splendour of Ypres's Gothic Cloth-Hall (Route 12), and of which Route 15: Ostend to Bruges (including Ghent, Termonde and Mechlin *sic*), is noteworthy by its length and close-focused attention on Bruges.[56] Here, Weale devotes lengthy sections to Bruges's Gothic

architecture and works of art, detailing the elegance and sumptuously ornamental *Hôtel de Ville* (c. 1377), his evocation, filling-in the void following Revolutionary plunder and recent "restorations"; of the majestic Belfry and its "carillon," as if experienced in its multiple medieval and later Gothic manifestations (Fig. 10). But it is the Cathedral (St Saviour's) and the Churches which command the most attentive treatment. Again, Weale supplies the virtual architectural substance and colour to relics lost to Revolutionary and post-1800 depredations: to recreating the lost magnificence of the Cathedral choir stained-glass windows with their twelve peers of France.[57] He goes on, highlighting more sensitive Gothic restitutions—the Burgundian tombs returned to the *Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk* (Church of our Lady) although still in fragments.[58] Added to these are the restorations in the Chapel of the Holy Blood (c.1134-57), with its polychrome Chancel walls "in richly diapered patterns," its High Altar and reredos in the fifteenth-century style designed by his compatriot, Jean-Baptiste Bethune (Fig. 12).[59] And, too, are evocations of other principal monuments and their art treasures, notably the St John's Hospital, housing Memling's Saint Ursula shrine (1489), and a focus of earlier Romantic interest.[60] But the Hospital's great attraction for Weale, enlarging on Hoppus, is his enhanced perception of it as both an Hôtel-Dieu and a gallery with "its rich and rare collection of early Flemish paintings […] by John Memling [sic]."[61] This interest and his developed architectural, artistic and cultural vision expanded via Weale's structuring of his "tours," as palimpsests is critical to what follows. In effect, the Guidebook functions as a way of networking a virtualized, ephemeral yet more "complete" Flemish Gothic past into the present—to create a "musée imaginaire" of histories, absent, suppressed or effaced—stimulating corresponding ideas of expanded national patrimony for British art tourists, while differencing it, as well as making a play for Catholic readers.

Arguably, the Guidebook thus acts a frame for Weale's developed vision of a Bruges, along with Jules Helbig and Jean Bethune, as a revitalized sacred Capital and cosmopolitan Catholic art community. It amplifies his "tour" as touchstone for envisioning Bruges as a burgeoning centre of restoration, transcendent spirituality and exquisite new art, at the crux of an extending network of inter-arts creation.[62] With as its core ambition, is a vision of its monuments revealed afresh for Weale, "dans leurs états primitifs"; of his Flemish "Primitive School" revivals, unveiled in 1861 as he claims from obscurity, and culminating in the 1867 exhibition, *Tableaux de l'ancienne école néelandaise exposés à Bruges*, with Memling at its head.[63] Significantly, too, Bruges in these ways emerges not only as a "route" but as a suggestive work of art. Amplified in his 1862 *Bruges et ses environs*, and for which Weale cites his 1859 guide as the template, Bruges becomes projected as a Symbolist *Gesamtkunstwerk avant la lettre*, distilling its history, geography and patrimony, but conjured most potently by its architecture and monuments as the glory of the "Hanse-Towns," the keystones of its integrated cultures of art.[64] And it is also the guidebook "view" which supplies Weale's 1867 portrait of Memling, framed by a vision of Bruges's transcendently restored virtual fifteenth-century splendour. Memling, indeed, emerges through Weale's larger evocation of Bruges's past and present potency, with its panoply of statuary, fountains, gilding and polychrome beauty; as he observes, "its

squares adorned with fountains; private houses with statuary and carved work, the beauty of which was heightened by gilding and polychromy," composing its artistic unity as the sacred locus of Memling's art.[65] Again, Weale's vision serves to create a seductive double optic: as a stimulus for British Gothic revivalists inspired by Pugin, while projecting a new role for Tractarians and cosmopolitan Catholic taste-making, and for which Belgium's medieval patrimony had become a compelling inspiration. As Frederick Oakley, an intimate of Weale attested: "We endeavoured, especially the younger and less occupied of our society, to improve our relations with foreign Catholics by occasional visits to the Continent. For this purpose Belgium was preferred to France."[66] In fact, Oakley understates the interest. Weale's dedication to Helbig and Bethune in 1867 puts it more pungently; it envisages nothing less than Bruges and its "Primitive" artists as trailblazers of a re-imagined community, a different modernity: "qui à une époque ou l'art s'affaise dans le pire des réalismes cherchent à le relever et à le faire rentrer dans le vrai."[67]

And pivotal to this vision of differencing is Weale treatment of Bruges—and of his broader Gothic trajectory—as both archaeological rediscovery and uncanny "other"; as restoration and artistry. On one level as shown, this makes savvy use of a new panoramic scale for print ephemera: of maps, railway schedules, plans and "skeleton routes:" Weale's version of "distance reading." Described on its frontispiece as "An Entirely new Guidebook for Travellers" *Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle-Cologne* features sixteen plans and four maps, detailed travel itineraries, and as it advertises, "copious" historical and architectural notes: a model that would inform his 1867 "Primitives" catalogue presentation, and claims for its "authority" and breadth. Yet on another level, Weale presents his vast compendium from the perspective of the *anti-tourist*; as informed by erudition, sensitivity and exquisite manners, exploiting both the compression afforded by the mobile cultural *aide-mémoire* and the expansiveness of the virtualized imaginary developed by earlier romantic travellers. Of note, is a substantial section on appropriate "pedestrian's outfit," itemizing the ultimate compact wardrobe with recommended accessories ("polyglot washing book […] a scent bottle; a small pocket telescope, or a powerful double opera-glass"), in short, as an extension of a complete "style de vie."[68] And portability is a recurrent theme in Weale's "Special Requirements," mirrored by inside-cover adverts for portable outer-wear: the "pocket siphonia" [sic], traveller's "knapsack," folding boats and even folding bath.[69] There is more: it is also a staging of "tours" conceived as artistry. Mixed with the portable paraphernalia, are notices for select continental purveyors of rare (but affordable) medieval antiquities, ecclesiastical vestments and *objets d'art*, turning reader as much as author into a potential Gothic collector and virtual restorer, and in so doing, a creator and owner of this past. Indeed, Hoppus's oscillating perspectives of observation and evocative image-making supply the template: in particular, of a Bruges of "antiquated monuments," steeped in religiosity, pervaded by its carillons, furnishing inspiration for Weale's amplified promotion of it as a contemporary lodestar: a citadel of lost and re-found art, near and far; of the actual as virtual.

What this suggests is a production of the "tour" as a springboard for expanded encounters: that is, moving between an ephemera of touristic production and imagery and its scope within the virtual spatialization and compression of the "skeleton route" to be other, as a voyage to more liminal experiences of converging spaces of memory and the present. Indeed, Weale's "Guide" is demonstrable in projecting many other such Gothic Capitals as well as Bruges, as exerting this growing appeal—for example, Ghent, Tournai, Leuven, Lille, Liège—and further afield into the German lands with Cologne as a portal. That "Bruges" thus resonates beyond limits in space and temporality has a two-fold suggestiveness for my conclusions. First, in Weale's Guidebook, via the heightened role given to visual encounters and types of art writing suggesting perspectives for more systematic, in-depth understanding to enrich the traveller's experiences beyond the merely touristic (for example, in appreciating distinctive characteristics of Scheldt Gothic in the Flemish cities of Bruges and Ghent, or early Rhenish art in Cologne). Yet these, too, draw out aesthetic sensitivity to and image multiple emotive connections with a Northern European medieval artistic and cultural past evoked as dark and brilliant, splendid and consumable, mystic and pure, yet complex—and portable.

Weale's example, indeed, points to a pivotal enlargement of the ephemerality of the "Guide." That is, between Northern journeys and travel motivated by discovery, curiosity, novelty and tourism, to the Northern Gothic city experienced as a multivalent pilgrimage—as a journey of devotion, emotion and artistic transformation—to find, lose or reimagine oneself. A striking inclusion in Weale's 1859 essential reading, is Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 1834 *Pilgrims of the Rhine*: a Belgian and Rhenish sight-seeing tour with a difference.[70] Evoked through the lens of Rhine-land myths as "history," twinned with atmospheric engravings of principal sights (Fig.1), the appeal is to the virtual as much as actual pilgrim as a way of poetically inhabiting, in Bulwer-Lytton's words, "the imbuing influence of that wild German spirit."[71] While Lytton's is, in spirit and conception, a Romantic journey, his use of a poetic register in word and image transforms an historical experience of Rhineland monuments into an artistic "pilgrimage" conjuring a heightened state of mood to project, visualize and stage as present, an occulted medieval Rhenish world. In these ways, Bulwer-Lytton's *Pilgrims* shadow Weale's tourists, suggesting an uncanny, intertextual imaginary expanding within Weale's "routes" in new directions. This resonates with other such palimpsestic distillations and suggestive recreations of a tantalizing medieval past, seen and imaged, but in other respects mysterious and elusive, as evoked in the case of Dante-Gabriel Rossetti's and William Holman Hunt's 1849 Paris and Belgian *Kunstreise*, including to Bruges. It would seem that Bruges, even though by the late 1840s a crowded tourist hot-spot, stimulated in Rossetti's visual art and poetry further potential for transposing and hybridizing a heightened sensory response to the many Gothic art-works and monuments they doubtless saw.[72] Yet Rossetti appears to have left no "account" of his Belgian tour. Rather, his poem *The Carillon* (1850) evokes a perception of experiences and encounters which emerge obliquely, enigmatically recreating the memory and sensations of a Northern medieval city. But these are conjured by the delicate synaesthetic music of the Flemish carillons—a sound

conjoining distant and present time, loss and presence, haunting yet brimming with affect—as the virtual embodiment of that lost experience. Indeed, that such tours of Northern medieval and Renaissance art might be reconceived from the perspective of the artist—an idea intimated by Callcott and Passavant—to embody alternative perceptions of modernity, memory and of altered identities of place and "belonging" in which the very ephemera of their means becomes the stimulus for a deeper seeing, anticipates the pivotal significance of the productive alterity of the Gothic "North" for *fin-de-siècle* writers and artists.

Weale's *Belgium-Aix-la-Chapelle-Cologne* was to prove an ephemeral production; the vaunted "New Handbook Series" never materialized owing to the collapse of William Dawson and Sons, its publisher, leaving tantalizing questions as how the series would have evolved. Yet in effect, by the early 1860s, Weale had already absorbed his Guidebook within his larger ephemeral vision of Bruges—and Belgium. Indeed, his case has exemplary implications. It points to significant ways in which the Northern "tour" as Weale develops it, contributes to a new perception of past-ness at this period and, via modernity and mobility, to framing its manifold images and recreations as a production and liminal space of the contemporary present. And its pivotal stimulus is the rediscovery of a Northern medieval Gothic artistic and cultural heritage perceived as fragmentary, incomplete and often "barbarous." Yet as demonstrable in Callcott's efforts to capture it, or Passavant's and Hoppus's to poeticize it, this is about bringing a past into visibility entwined with the expansively modern and particular; but equally as work of memory and encounter, with the personal and suggestive. Within Weale's more streamlined optic, the potency of the Northern "tour" becomes ineluctably associated with ephemerality: with new technology and rail travel as vectors of nation-building and progress, turning the handbook souvenir into an indispensable part of the modern traveller's perception of their mobile modernity. But the suggestiveness of Weale's virtual Gothic recreations is as much to do with their enlargement of the personal, "portable" viewpoint, with staging the potential, hidden image as narrating or illustrating it, for as André Malraux suggests, the "museum" is beyond things or storage for relics, a creation of image-making.[73] In sum: Weale's treatment of his revivals within a larger projection of Bruges (and its cognates Ghent, Cologne, Munich and Dresden) as a revitalized "sacred Capital"—a nexus of liminal and uncanny artistic potential—gives to the "tour" and its evocations, heightened prominence as *portable museums* shaping not only the Gothic rediscoveries these excited, but the larger imaginaries to be built from them.

Notes:

[1] On Waterloo battlefield tourism and its ephemera, particularly its commemorations and recreations for British travellers as a potent "lieu de mémoire," see notably Stuart Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting and Memory after Waterloo," *Representations* 69 (2000): 9-37. On the burgeoning battlefield relic trade, spectacles of memory (including grisly memorabilia) and the post-Waterloo travel itinerary, see Pieter Francois, "The Best Way to see Waterloo is with your Eyes Shut: British "Histourism",

Authenticity and Commercialisation in the Mid Nineteenth Century," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 22, no.1 (Spring 2013): 26-41.

[2] See Francis Haskell, *History and its Images* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), 431–95, and Bénédicte Savoy and Nicolas Labasque, *Patrimoine annexé*: *les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800*, 2 vols. (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2003). For spoliations and impact on Old Master market; relations with Romantic and later Northern tour literature accounts of post-Waterloo patrimony restitutions and reception are not explored in these treatments.

[3] As epitomised in celebrated art "confiscations" conducted under the Revolutionary "Agences d'Extraction" in the Low Countries and Holland (from 1794-5), including *The Lamb of God*, the central panel of Jan and Hubert van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*, seized from St Bavo's cathedral, Ghent; under Denon, this was to be exhibited as an educational centre-piece in his "asylum of all human knowledge." On Denon's controversial programme and its contexts, see David Gilks, "Attitudes to the displacement of cultural property in the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon," *The Historical Journal* 56, no.1 (March 2013): 113-43 (this citation, 118).

[4] See, for example, Francois, *vis-à-vis* the growing popularity of cultural tourism in the Southern Netherlands and Rhine-lands, post-Waterloo, "The Best Way to see Waterloo," (2013): 30-33.

[5] First published in *Sammtliche Werke*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Jacob Mayer und Compagnie, 1822-25), disseminated in English in 1848 and 1860 in a collection of Schlegel's aesthetic writings, translated with Preface by E.J. Millington, as *The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works of Friedrich von Schlegel* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848, 1860); this citation, Schlegel, "Preface" (Millington, 1848), xix-xx.

[6] Friedrich Schlegel, "Letters on Christian Art" (Millington, 1847), "Letter 1V," 116.

[7] Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum*: *Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 6.

[8] On Eastlake's German aesthetic interests and relations with the founding National Gallery collections, see Charlotte Klonk, "Mounting Vision: Charles Eastlake and the National Gallery of London," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 2 (June 2000): 331-47, although Callcott's role in the development of a German spirit in British art and cultural taste-making at this period has not been explored in depth.

[9] Relating to the ancient doctrine of the migration of souls: developed as a key strand within late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century French and German Romantic thought; Callcott's interest in the transmission of a German spirit in early nineteenth-century British art and its connections with ideas of cultural rebirth aligns with a strain of Romantic philosophy in the 1820s and 1830s in the domain of historiography and reformist philosophy concerned with building a collective spirit of culture and nations: for an overview (on post-Waterloo France), see Lynn L. Sharp, *Secular Spirituality: Reincarnation and Spiritism in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York; Toronto; Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2006), esp. 2-4.

[10] Indeed, her interest in and concentrated exposure to so-called and German "primitive" art has been characterized as "extraordinary" for this period, see David Blayney Brown and Christopher Lloyd, *The Journal of Maria, Lady Callcott, 1827-28* (Oxford: Oxford Microfilm Publications, 1981), 9; but detailed analysis of the significance of Callcott's German journeys for her contemporaries remains to be investigated.

[11] As recounted in her appreciation of German so-called "primitives" seen in the collections of the Vienna (Belvedere) and newly-founded Frankfurt (Städel Institute) in *Visits and Sketches at Home and Abroad* (1834); on Jameson, Callcott and their role in advancing "connoisseurship," see Caroline Palmer, "I will Tell Nothing that did not *See*! British Women's Travel Writing, Art and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776-1860," *Forum for Modern Languages Studies* 51, no.3 (1 July 2015): 248-68 (see especially, 255).

[12] Especially in relation to their emphasis on disseminating a new "science" of German connoisseurship modelled on Callcott's empirical approach, see Susanna Avery-Quash, "Illuminating the Old Masters and Enlightening the British Public: Anna Jameson and the Contribution of British Women to Empirical Art History in the 1840s," *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Spring 2019), accessed December 2, 2019, https://19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.832/.

[13] With the ambition of forming, "the fullest and most and most instructive collection of the world's art ever seen." Wolf-Dieter Dübe, *The Munich Gallery* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 60.

[14] Maria Graham (Lady) Callcott, *Journal* (to Dresden/including 1st visit to Munich—May 12th 1827/to August 10th), Papers of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library (University of Oxford), Special Collections, MSS. Eng. 2275, 2276, 2278-79. Notebook 1 (MS Eng. 2275): 6-7 (hereafter all citations are from the Bodleian Callcott Papers MSS collections).

[15] Notably, Johann Sulpiz Boisserée, *Histoire de description de la cathédrale de Cologne* [with] *vues, plans* [&C], (1821-3); followed by his *Mémoire sur l'architecture du moyen-âge* (1824) and *Monuments d'architecture du septième au treizième siècle dans les contrées du Rhin inférieur* (1842).

[16] As indeed highlighted in Goethe's treatment of Strasbourg Cathedral and "Gothic," in his "Von deutscher Baukunst" which he re-baptizes as a source of "awakening" to a German inheritance (first published: Frankfurt am Main, 1772), followed by his "Alte-Deutsch Baukunst" (1819) and his *Über Kunst in Alterthum* ("On German Art and Architecture," 1823), which includes his response to Cologne Cathedral and the Boisserées' engravings. On this, see Susan A. Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2000), esp.11-12.

[17] Indeed on their first visit to the Boisserées in Munich (June 1827), Callcott records her enthusiasm for the Boisserée engravings, noting: "We looked over Boisserées superb plates of the Cathedral of Cologne as it was intended to be from the ancient plans still preserved from the part actually finished." Callcott, *Journal* (to Dresden/including 1st visit to Munich—May 12th 1827/to August 10th), Callcott Papers (Bodleian Library, Oxford), MSS. Eng. 2275, Notebook 1: 86.

[18] His overwhelming illumination inspired by beholding Strasbourg Cathedral which, for Goethe, emerges as if from the shadows of a "barbarous" Gothic into his perception of it as a living totality: "Wie in Werken der ewigen Natur, bis aufs geringste Zäserchen, alles Gestalt und alles zweckend zum Ganzen; wie das festgegründete ungeheure Gebäude sich leicht in die Luft hebt; wie durchbrochen alles und doch für die Ewigkeit." Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Von Deutscher Baukunst" (1772), in *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe—Werke.* Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden, Komplett, vol.12, *Schriften zur Kunst* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998), 7–15.

[19] Callcott, *Journal* (to Dresden/including 1st visit to Munich—May 12th 1827/to August 10th), Callcott Papers (Bodleian Library, Oxford), MSS. Eng. 2275, Notebook 1: 6-7.

[20] In the context of observations she notes while in Dresden with the Nazarene artist, Karl Christian Vogel, where again, echoing the Callcotts' encounters in Cologne, she opines of the early German masters, that, "It was decoration that led them on to the end of the fifteenth century and produced [their? - hand-writing unclear] holy expansion and deep intellectual feeling." Callcott, *Journal* (to Dresden/including 1st visit to Munich—May 12th 1827/to August 10th), Notebook 1: 138-139.

[21] Dated 23 June [1827]: "went to Schleissheim to see the gallery," Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 1: to Dresden…), 71.

[22] Dated: "June 3 [1827]—to the Städel to see the collection," Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 1: to Dresden…), 31-32.

[23] On the development of Augsburg's flourishing print and art production and subsequent legacy, see Peter Stoll, "The Imperial City of Augsburg and the Printed Image in the 17th and 18th Centuries," OPUS Augsburg 2016, accessed February 16, 2019, https://opus.bibliothek.uniaugsburg.de/opus4/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/3705/file/Stoll_empire_of_prints.pdf.

[24] Dated 17 June, referring to the collection in the Katherinenkloster (a former convent), housed within the Schaezlerpalais complex. See Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 1: to Dresden…), 58.

[25] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824) and *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (1824); the watercolour peepshow model of a *View of L'Angostura de Paine in Chile* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, d. 1835), appears to be based on Graham's (Callcott's) landscape illustrations and botanical drawings featured in her 1824 *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. On Graham's South American travels and their visualization, see Katherine Manthorne, "Female Eyes on South America: Maria Graham," Colección Cisneros (21 July 2017), accessed December 2, 2019; 19 February 2020, https://www.coleccioncisneros.org/editorial/cite-site-sights/female-eyes-south-america-maria-graham.

[26] Callcott, *Journal*, Callcott papers, MS Eng. d.2276 (Notebook 2: August 10th 1827/Dresden to Munich), 71-72.

[27] Amongst the papers relating to the Callcotts' 1827-8 tour are an additional small (hand-written) pamphlet entitled: "Beginning of our Tour in 1827 by Lady Callcott," containing a list by country and city of principal galleries and works of art viewed (MS Eng. d. 2278-9), and a further notebook (MS Eng. 2280) with extensive and detailed notations on the Munich and Schleissheim gallery visits and "catalogue" of the works. Callcott's observation that prior to their arrival (in Munich), "some eight thousand" pictures were already catalogued indicates both the magnitude of the collection and of Callcott's undertaking (Pamphlet: MS Eng. 2278-9), 3.

[28] Remarking, "I wish she had given more authorities," most likely a reference to Johanna Schopenhauer's *Johann van Eyck und seine Nachfolger* (Heinrich Wilmans: Frankfurt am Main, 1822), Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 2: Dresden to Munich), 73.

[29] Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 2: /Dresden to Munich), 70-72 and 75.

[30] En route from Cologne through the Rhinegau: "Rhine water certainly most agreeable." Callcott, *Journal* (Notebook 1: to Dresden …), 27. Callcott's interest in picturesque details of local women's dress is repeatedly evoked as in Augsburg, noting Bavarian costume (Notebook 1: 56) and again in Munich in a prolonged description of the variety of women's head-wear and costumes (Notebook 1: 97).

[31] The notebooks are interspersed with a number of small vignettes, ranging from architectural details, schematic altarpiece designs (as in Cologne Cathedral) and such eye-catching local details as the frequently recorded Bavarian "bonnets" (*Journal*, Notebook 1: 56); Callcott also refers to her "sketches" (made on-site) accompanying her notes, as in Cologne (Cathedral, High Altar and St Séverin) (Notebook 1: 8).

[32] "La seduction de la mémoire": in the context of Jules Michelet's translation of Vico's *De l'Antique sagesse de l'Italie* (1835) and new-found romantic interest in the proximity of the Antique idea of *memoria* and *reminscentia* (*vide* Vico) which, for Michelet according to Le Goff, connects "memory" (as "recording") and "imagination" (as "reminiscence" or "image"), see Jacques Le Goff, *Histoire et mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 157.

[33] Largely self-educated, a leading political abolitionist as well as a botanist and poet, Roscoe amassed a substantial art and botanical science collection, including of early Netherlandish and German so-called "primitive" artists (many since re-attributed), first displayed in The Liverpool Royal Institution (which, with The Athenaeum literary society, he was active in founding), now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. On his collecting activities, see Dongho Chun, "Democratic Principles and Aristocratic Tastes: William Roscoe's Patronage and Art Collecting," *Transactions Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* (September 2018), esp. 124-35, although the connection with Passavant and German taste-making is not developed.

[34] Aders possessed one of the most important collections of early Netherlandish and Cologne School art seen as unique at this period, see Susan Foister, "Victoria and Albert: Art and Love—Prince Albert's German Pictures," *Essays from a Study Day held at The National Gallery*, ed. Susanna Avery-Quash (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2012), 10.

[35] By his account, Passavant spent two days in Roscoe's "excellent" company: Johann-David Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, vol 2. (London: Saunders & Otley, 1836), 13.

[36] Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, vol. 2, 18.

[37] Passavant, vol.1, 209-10.

[38] Both published by Henry Colburn's Saunders & Otley, by the 1830s, established as the leading London publisher of literary tours and "fashionable" interest artist-writer biographies; the marked focus on continental travel and thought indicated in the 1836 new "publication" highlights, including J.B Robertson's translation of F. Schlegel's *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (with a "Life of the Author"); Anna Jameson's *Visits* and *Sketches Abroad and at Home* and Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Rienzi* (Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist*, vol. 1, under "Messrs. Saunders and Otley's New Publications").

[39] David C. Lee, *Ernest Renan: In the Shadow of Faith* (London: Duckworth, 1996), 273.

[40] John Hoppus, *The Continent in 183—Sketches* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1836), 5.

[41] Hoppus, *The Continent in 1835*, 10.

[42] Hoppus, 10.

[43] Hoppus, 10.

[44] Hoppus, 16.

[45] William Henry James Weale, *Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne—An Entirely New Guidebook for Travellers* (London: W. Dawson and Sons, 1859), published as the first in a series of "Weale's Handbooks for Tourists."

[46] For an overview of his prodigious activities as the leading exponent of the period's Flemish art and architecture revivals, see Lori van Biervliet, *Leven en werk van W.H. James Weale een Engels kunsthistoricus in Vlaanderen in de 19de eeuw* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1991), esp. 91-172; on the broader reception of his "rediscovery" of the Flemish "primitives," see Haskell, *History and its Images* (1993), 431-95. In the

development of these interests, however, Weale's guidebook has received very little attention (Van Biervliet mentions it briefly but only in the context of the publisher's economic demise, at 50).

[47] Resident until 1878, Weale mentions that by 1859, there were 500 British residents (Weale, *Belgium*, 166); on the "colony," see Lori van Biervliet, "De Engelse kolonie in Brugge in de 19de eeuw," *Biekorf* 88 (1988): 150-66; 262-81.

[48] *Vide* as in H. Keryvn de Lettenhove's account, following Weale's shaping role in the 1902 Bruges Exhibition, "Les Primitifs Flamands." "W.H. James Weale, Esq. Souvenirs," *La Revue belge* (15 June 1926): 518-34.

[49] *Bradshaw's Illustrated Handbook for Travellers in Belgium, on the Rhine and Through Portions of Rhenish Prussia* (featuring maps and illustrations) (London: W.J. Adams, 1856), arguably the most comprehensive of its type catering for a post-1830 surge (in Britain and continental Europe) in Belgian and Rhine-lands tours, copiously illustrated, but without the streamlined "routes" vaunted in Weale's.

[50] Weale, *Belgium-Aix-la-Chapelle*, "Preface," 10.

[51] With the purpose of exposing "[les] défenseurs des prétendues restaurations de nos monuments publics" and what he terms ensuing "ravages." See Weale, *Restauration des monuments publics en Belgique*: *Mémoire* ("suivi d'une correspondence avec M. Jean Dugniolle") (Bruges: Edw. Gailliard; Brussels: A. Decq, 1862), iv-vi.

[52] "badigeonnées, plâtrées et dénaturées." Weale, *Restauration des monuments publics*, v.

[53] Highlighting Weale's efforts, in his terms, to "expose" the denaturing of a complex and varied medieval artistic patrimony, thereby to efface it. See Weale, *Restauration*, 6.

[54] Weale, *Belgium*, "Preface," 1-11.

[55] "The writer has been at great pains to render his work as accurate and complete as possible without swelling its dimensions so as to make it inconvenient either for the pocket or pouch of the tourist." Weale, "Preface," *Belgium*, 10.

[56] Weale, 111-12.

[57] Weale, 140.

[58] Weale, 145.

[59] Weale, 150: drawing attention to Bethune, who with Jules Helbig, were the leading figures in a developed network of Gothic revivalists and proselytizers of A.W. N. Pugin's *True Principles* (1841) in Belgium, active in Bruges, and with substantial links to an expanding circle of English Catholics committed to the union of the medieval and modernity, notably including Weale, the architect, Thomas Harper King (who also worked with Bethune et. al, on the Holy Blood restorations), and the artist-designer, Sir John Sutton; on Bethune and Pugin, see Gilles Maury, "The True Disciple: Jean-Baptiste Bethune and A.W.N. Pugin: A Summary of a Complex Relationship," *A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence: Gothic Revival Worldwide*, eds. Timothy Brittain-Catlin, Jan De Maeyer and Martin Bressani (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2016), 43-51.

[60] As the stimulus for a "romantic" book, *Ursula Princesse britannique, d'après la légende et les peintures de Memling* (1818), by Baron (Charles Louis Guillaume) de Keverberg; on Keverberg and the nineteenth-century emergence of a Memling "canon" see Jenny Graham, "Picturing Patriotism: the image of the Artist-Hero and the Belgian Nation State, 1830-1900," in *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the Low Countries*, eds. Hugh Dunthorne and Michael Wintle (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 174-77.

[61] Weale, *Belgium*, 152.

[62] Developed through Weale's creation with Bethune and Helbig of their Bruges-based "Guild of St. Thomas and St Luke" (1863) and connections with an extensive circle of collectors and Catholic patrons in London, Ghent, Antwerp, and the Rhine-lands, including of rare tapestry, brasses; makers of English and Flemish stained-glass (notably, the Birmingham-based Chance brothers), further developed in Bethune's stained-glass atelier (established, Ghent 1859), see van Biervliet, 51-53.

[63] Weale, *Restauration des monuments publics* (1862), 5. Relating to the first published catalogue of "Primitives," Weale affirms: "Nous estimons fort heureux, pour l'histoire de l'art, qu'à une complète obscurité ait déjà succédé un peu de clarté." Weale, *Catalogue du Musée de l'Académie de Bruges* (Bruges and London: Bayaert-Defoort; Barthes and Lowell, 1861), 2.

[64] Conceived as he states in the spirit of his 1859 guide, "le guide, le plus complet," but also to amplify and improve on its discoveries. See Weale, *Bruges et ses environs—Déscription des monuments, objets d'art et antiquités* (Bruges: Bayaert-Defoort; London: Barthes & Lowell, 1862), ii.

[65] Weale, *Hans Memlinc: A Notice of his Life and Works* (London: The Arundel Society, 1865), 3-4.

[66] Frederick Oakley, *Historical Notes on the Tractarian Movement* (London: Longman, 1865). On Weale's links with Tractarianism, see van Biervliet, *Leven en werk van W.H. James Weale* (1991), 43; on relations between the Bruges circle and its cosmopolitan connections with the spread of Catholic art networks, especially in Belgium and the German lands, see Jan de Mayer, "Pro Arte Christiana: Catholic Art Guilds, Gothic Revival and the Cultural Identity of the Rhine-Meuse Area," in *Historism and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Meuse Region*, eds. Wolfgang J. Cortjaens et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 159-73.

[67] Weale, "Dédicace" (title page), *Tableaux de l'ancienne école Néerlandaise exposés à Bruges* (Bruges: Edw. Gailliard, 1867), dedicated "à mes frères d'armes, Helbig et Bethune."

[68] Weale, *Belgium* (1859), 'Introduction', xvii.

[69] Weale, viii.

[70] Weale, xviii.

[71] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1834), 3.

[72] Rossetti records of that amongst the works they saw in Paris was Jan van Eyck's *The Virgin of Chancellor Rolin* (c1430-34), which he described "tremendous"; of the Belgian part of the tour, however, there are few details, although they note that on their visit to Antwerp, they viewed the Florent van Ertborn bequest, comprising works by Van Eyck and German "Primitives"; further, Rossetti's two sonnets inspired by works by Memling and van der Weyden in Bruges, indicates that they would have seen the Memlings in the St John's Hospital, and visited other major monuments, Dante-Gabriel Rossetti, *Collected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Jerome McGann (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 109, 128.

[73] For Malraux, indeed, the nineteenth-century museum is a creation of presence as image-making, of the souvenir: "Il y a avait alors dans les connaissances artistiques, une zone floue, qui tenait à ce que la confrontation d'un tableau de Florence, de Rome, de Madrid, était celle d'un tableau et d'un souvenir." André Malraux, *Le Musée imaginaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 15.

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